

# Young India

A Weekly Journal

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## Notes

### The Ali Brothers

Much information has been received during the week about the Brothers. I have seen too, the contradiction by the Government. Moreover, the Brothers and Dr. Kichlew were produced in the balcony of the jail to an impatient and angry crowd that had heard all kinds of ugly rumours including the reported death of one of the Brothers. If the Magistrate's version is strictly correct, the reports from Karachi are exaggerated. But after the production by the authorities of Mr. Mahadev Desai's certificate of character, although they knew that Mr. Desai had suffered grievously before the certificate, I discount the Magistrate's half contradiction. It is at the same time true that there has been inaccuracy in the Karachi reports. We now see that they have not been as inhumanly treated as the reports would lead one to believe. But the authorities are themselves to blame if they would observe needless secrecy about jail treatment and will not permit relatives to meet them. Surely if they have nothing to hide, they should not hesitate to permit relatives of prisoners to see them, not as a privilege, not for the prisoners' sake, but for their own sake when the anxious relatives suspect treatment worse than the authorities are prepared to admit.

### Sabarmati Prisoners

Take for instance the Sabarmati prisoners. I understand that the information given by me last week is quite accurate and that the ill-treatment refers not merely to Mr. Jairamdas but to Maulana Hassan Ahmed and two Dharwar prisoners who are in the same jail. The Maulana and one of the Dharwar prisoners Mr. Dabhad are old men near sixty. To

punish them in the manner they are being punished for their objection to be searched, is surely inhuman and cannot be justified even in the interest of 'law and order' about which the Government betray such feverish anxiety. Here is an extract from my correspondent's letter:—

"Mr. Jairamdas has grown thinner. He was allowed to read the *Times of India* and the *Sindh Observer* by the Inspector General of Prisons, but the Bombay Government by an order has stopped the papers. The Inspector General had allowed him to get books from outside and allowed the use of lamp upto 10 p.m., but the higher authorities have prohibited these too. Recent Government orders are that no concessions be shown to political prisoners and the rule of daily search be put into force in their case. Maulana Hassan Ahmed and two other prisoners have also refused to be searched, so they were all punished with handcuffs at night. This was for three nights. Other punishments were to follow if they did not submit. It would be no surprise if whipping also is resorted to. Owing to handcuffs they cannot get proper sleep and cannot answer calls of nature during night. During the daytime they are put to work. Maulana Hassan Ahmed cannot say his prayers owing to handcuffs which are put on from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. Mr. Jairamdas was allowed shoes in the beginning. This has been disallowed".

Let the Government deny these serious allegations if they dare.

### Delegalising Congress Offices

The following from the Congress Secretary Faridpur speaks for itself:—

"Here the District Magistrate has taken it into his head to delegalise not only the volunteer organisation but the Congress Committee as well. He has broken up almost all the Congress Offices of the district by police force. This was done at the dead hour of the night when all the volunteers were lying asleep. They were beaten out. They however kept non-violent.

"Even the owners of the Congress houses are not safe. They are threatened with the fear of jail and the confiscation of their property.

"The English translation of the two notices is given below:

"Notice No I.—"The public are hereby informed that the Volunteer organisation and the Congress Committees are declared unlawful because they intrude upon law and order. Any one encouraging, either directly or indirectly, another to speak on the subject of boycotting Government officials or withholding taxes or creating disturbances in the Government work, will be liable to punishment under the criminal law.

"The above is published for warning people against such indulgences due to ignorance. None shall obstruct

any engaged in lawful business. Those who are connected with any unlawful assembly will be severely dealt with.'

"Notice No II.—It is not known to the owners of houses that they may be liable to be punished for hiring their houses to the unlawful assemblies and committees. Hiring houses for offices &c., is to help the unlawful assemblies. So they are warned against hiring their houses to the unlawful assemblies.

(Sd.) G. P. Hogg.  
Magistrate, Faridpur."

It is not an easy matter to advise what to do when one is subjected to the terrorism of the kind described. It is a matter simply of not being 'washed out.' It is possible that the landlords will take fright and not give us their houses for offices. We must then hold them in the open whilst we are kept free. If they take us all to jail and keep us together, we must hold consultations there and evolve Swaraj in the jails, as they are doing in Agra, by spinning, by having mixed prayer meetings and mixed hymns, and otherwise acting together in so far as the jail regulations will permit. When they are tired of beating us they will certainly take to shooting us. And when they do that and if we do not quail and can sing out 'eyes front', we have established Swaraj, because we have attained infinite capacity for suffering.

#### "As in all other Countries"

I would not have pictured such a grim prospect before us but for the callous defence, offered by Sir William Vincent, of almost every charge brought by me in proof of lawless repression categorically denied by the Viceroy. It is evidently now considered necessary to throw off the veneer of polish which used formerly to be given by total repudiation of uncomfortable facts. As such a thing has become practically impossible in view of the courage with which the public has now come forward to expose every wrong, the Government have taken up the bold attitude of defending every atrocity. Sir William evidently considers the members of the Assembly to be specially gullible. For, after treating them to general denials, telling them it is not the province of the Assembly to review the measures of the Provincial administrations, he thus defends the gravest of the charges:—

"There are two particular charges however to which I must draw attention. One relates to the dispersal of unlawful assemblies by force and I want to make it quite clear that where it is necessary to disperse unlawful assemblies and such assemblies refuse to disperse when ordered to do so by competent authority, it is the intention of the Government that 'as in all other countries' they should be dispersed by force when this is necessary. In such cases force is the only remedy. In the second place attention is drawn, in this statement of Mr. Gandhi's, to the question of searches and arrests by night. The Government of India will give no undertaking that searches and arrests will not be made by night or by day as may be found necessary".

This is as frank as one could wish. It does not much matter that the use of force against unarmed men and midnight trespasses are resorted to in the name of ordinary processes. It merely sustains the charge that this Government is ordinarily bad and intolerable. The open avowal was indeed necessary, for the jails having lost their terror, the next thing to do was to set up a system of corporal punishments and robbery so as to make the people realise what refusal to submit to the will of the administrators meant for them. We must therefore expect greater use, not less, of corporal punishments and nocturnal raids. When we get used to these as our

common lot, the next natural step is day and night shooting. And I have recently been preparing the non-co-operators to expect that final reward reserved for lovers of freedom. Willing death is deliverance. According to Hindu belief the highest known form of freedom, i. e. salvation, is possible only when a man voluntarily surrenders his body and becomes totally indifferent to bodily wants. Political freedom of a disciplined character is a prelude to the higher type. It is therefore in the fitness of things that we should voluntarily surrender our possessions including our bodies for the attainment of national freedom.

Sir William defends the assaults and looting because they are resorted to in 'all other countries'. I take leave to deny that peaceful assemblies, no matter how unlawful, are ever dispersed by force in any other country or that it has been ever before done even in India. Such assemblies are dealt with by summoning the conveners, and if necessary the audience, and imprisoning them. Abolition of corporal punishment is the first step to civilised government. Let the public bear in mind the fact that these public meetings take place not to preach or practise violence but to test a precious public right. Speakers and spectators may be arrested but certainly not assaulted and dragged.

As if Sir William felt the shame of his brutal confession, he wound up his brazen defence by irrelevantly dragging in the Gorakhpur incident, to prove that volunteers who sign the pledge of non-violence are not all non-violent. The brutal conduct of the Chauri Chaura crowd was indefensible. One does not know whether it contained volunteers. Let the volunteers who do violence be punished by all means; but no such mob misconduct can possibly excuse the use of force against innocent and inoffensive men.

But non-co-operators must beware of being enraged by such lawlessness of the Government. They have to live it down by patient suffering and not even mental retaliation. The incidents I am collecting from week to week are intended to prove the infinite capacity of the Government to use force. We must therefore develop an equally infinite capacity for suffering, if we are to replace Government by force by Government based upon popular will. Force will be used even under popular Government, but it will then, 'as in all other countries,' be used against those only who seek to thwart the public will by force. Mr. Montagu puts the moderates clearly on the wrong track by telling them that European Governments are based on force. It would be impossible in London or Paris to disperse peaceful crowds even though they might have gathered together in breach of a law, unless they have gathered to use or to preach the use of force.

#### Suspension

But Chauri Chaura has opened up a new duty before non-co-operators. The resolutions of the Working Committee reproduced elsewhere, call upon non-co-operators for the time being to suspend all civil disobedience activities, mass as well as individual. Till the All-India Congress Committee has met, all civil disobedience must stop whether defensive or offensive. I am hoping that the All-India Congress Committee will confirm the action of the Working Committee. In my opinion, mass civil disobedience must be stopped for a long time—at least to the end of the year. It is evident that we have not obtained the necessary control over the masses. Individual offensive civil disobedience too must stop for some time. But the Working Committee leaves untouched all normal congress activities which are necessary for our purpose, although they may be prohibited.

Thus we must enrol volunteers in strict conformity with the pledge, though not for defiance of the notifications, but for actual Congress work. So must we carry on *khaddar* propaganda. It will be noticed that the Working Committee has discounted picketing foreign cloth shops for the time being. The only picketing permitted, is in connection with liquor shops and that too by persons of proved good character. I hope therefore that all workers will loyally abide by the resolutions of the Working Committee and enthusiastically take up the constructive work sketched by it. The programme of construction should bring together all parties with the common goal—the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj.

#### A Silent Worker

Andhra Desha has lost one of its finest silent workers. K. Hanumantharao laboured for the great educational institution at Masulipatam which is the pride of Andhra Desha. He lived for it and died for it. Dr. Patlabhi Sitaramayya writes the following touching letter:—

"I have all along felt that I owed a letter to you after my return from Bombay on the 17th inst. with a message to Mr. Venkatappayya. I wanted to deliver that message in person going to Guntur, instead of coming straight to Masulipatam. But a telegram that I had received in Bombay on the 16th night that my friend K. Hanumantharao of the Kalasala was serious and the absence of news on the 19th at Bezvada prevented my going to Guntur in person. I therefore sent the message to K. Venkatappayya through a gentleman and returned to Bunder (Masulipatam) only to find that Hanumantharao was in a precarious state. I had known for some time previous that his life was to be cut short. I told you once or twice that he was ill. I had no opportunity on the 17th to tell you about this domestic trouble. I left Bombay with a heavy heart doubting whether I could see my friend at all. I did see him and have had the solace of having treated him since, until he passed away yesterday in my hands at 1 p. m. Hard of heart as I am by nature and callous by profession, I nevertheless feel this loss of my friend, philosopher and guide, of a fellow worker for 16 years, above all this loss of the founder and prop of the National College, in a manner that I cannot describe. I am too full of grief to be able to say anything further except that I am sustained by the hope that the public's regard for Hanumantharao's memory will sustain the institution for which he gave the best of his time and talent during his life and in the end gave his life itself as his highest offering at the feet of the Mother. It is with peculiar gratification that we find that the ideals for which he has worked in collaboration with his friend these sixteen years, have at last gained universal acceptance. He tore up his sanad at my special request in 1907 on the eve of the Surat Congress. From 1908 we have foregone a revenue of Rs. 500 a year over the College premises which would have accrued from the tapping of palmyra trees and date trees. From Feb. 1910 upto now, the Panchama boys have been sitting cheek by jowl with the Brahmin boys and all have turned their hands to work. From 1912 we have struggled hard to revive the cottage industries and home crafts and limit machinery to its place in life. Today there are 110 looms in the Kalasala premises. The federation of cultures in the provinces and in India has been the motive of the Andhra movement which Hanumantharao has elevated and made truly sublime. Today I cherish the memory of my friend as that of a true nation builder that had the

imagination, the courage and the vision to see that the foundations of Nationalism must well and truly be laid in National Education."

The friends of the deceased have lost no time in issuing an appeal for one lac of rupees for a memorial to the deceased. It is not intended to use the money in vain show but to put on a sound footing the financial condition of the institution for which the deceased slaved day and night. I heartily commend the appeal not only to every Andhra patriot but also to many others who knew Hanumantharao or visited his noble institution.

#### Agha Mahomed Safdar

Although the successor of Lala Lajpatrai, Agha Mahomed Safdar was arrested and tried and released by the Sialkot Magistrate, it was not to be expected that he would remain free for any length of time. He has now been re-arrested and is to be tried in Lahore. He was arrested whilst he was about to address a meeting at Ghartal a village 18 miles from Sialkot. The audience consisted of over one thousand villagers. There was no violence. And the meeting was continued by the companions of the Agha shah as if nothing had happened.

#### Sikh Honour

The Sikh awakening seems to be truly wonderful. Not only has the Akali party become a party of effective non-violence but it is evolving a fine code of honour. The Gurdwara Committee is now insisting on the release of Pandit Dina Nath, a non-Sikh who was arrested in connection with the keys affair. I must reproduce the courageous notice issued by the Committee:—

"Pandit Dina Nath has not been released. The Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar has written to the Committee saying 'That if Pandit Dina Nath makes a representation to Government as to his release, his petition will be considered.' This needs no comment. The Sikhs consider it more incumbent on them to strive for his release than of any Sikh, for he is suffering simply for his sympathy for the Sikhs. Of course unless he is released, no scheme of management of Darbar Sahib and connected Gurdwaras coming from the court can be considered by the Committee. The convictions of Panth Sewaks in the Keys affair still stand, and it has not been announced that no penal consequences will follow their release. No measure for Gurdwara Reform acceptable to the Sikh Community has been presented by the ministry, no circular for freeing the *Kirpan* has been issued by the Government.

"This will show that the religious situation is as grave as ever. The Committee had believed at the time of the release of the 'Keys' prisoners that the Government might remove the Sikh religious grievances, and therefore the growing tension of feelings was deliberately checked. But the committee can not indefinitely withhold the natural expression of religious discontent. Instructions will be shortly issued as to what action should be taken now."

#### Ahmedabad and Surat

Ahmedabad and Surat Municipalities have been superseded—not because they have been found inefficient but because they have been too efficient and too independent. These two municipalities and that of Nadiad have been putting up a brave, dignified and orderly fight against the Government interference and undue control. Their crime consisted in freeing primary education from Government control. They gave up Govern-

Be it noted that the elected councillors

who have commanded a majority have always acted after close consultation with the rate-payers. But that is just what the Government evidently does not want. It makes the public opinion effective.

The duty before the councillors and the electors is quite simple. They must still retain control of primary education. The rate-payers may refuse to pay the rates to the nominated committees that the Government may impose upon the citizens and they must pay for the national education of their children. The councillors must keep together and put up as it were a national municipality in so far as it is practicable. In my opinion there is hardly a department, for running of which enlightened citizens require Government aid. There is no earthly reason why the Ahmedabadis, the Nadiadis and the Surtis should not be able to sweep and light their own streets, educate their own children and look after their sick and their water-supply without hanging on to the Government. The police control they do not possess. The only thing for which they may need Government assistance is in enforcing payment of rates. Replace Government force by force of public opinion and you have the sanction for collecting rates. More money is raised in Ahmedabad by voluntary contributions than by enforced rates. The public will watch the duel between nominated committees and popularly elected representatives in awakened constituencies.

#### Crowded out

An important letter about the Delhi Jail treatment confirming the information given in these pages has been crowded out this week together with much other important matter.

M. K. G.

### M. Paul Richard and Repression

The reader will appreciate the following interview M. Paul Richard gave our representative:—

Monsieur, what do you think about the reports of flogging in prisons and other kinds of brutal treatment meted out to non-violent non-co-operators?

I can simply tell you that when I read Mr. Desai's letter in *Young India*, I became discouraged with our human race—specially with that part of it which styles itself as civilised. When I happen to visualise these cases of human barbarity, atrocity and cruelty, not only in the exceptional and demoralising upheaval of the war, but in the daily cold blooded dealings of functionaries, I become ashamed of my race and disgusted to be a man. Specially as a Frenchman, I am wont from my childhood to look at corporal punishment as unworthy of civilised men. In England only parents can indulge in flogging their children. In France it is considered as cowardice for a man to take advantage of his force against a defenceless little one. If ever a school-master lost his temper so as to beat one of his pupils he would be simply sent to prison; and no corporal punishment is allowed in any department of police and jails. As an example, when in 1904 I was sent for an enquiry to the Convict Settlement of French Guiana in South America, I was there presented by the Chief Justice of the colony—a distinguished Negro—with an official report in which I read that a few months before some cases of flogging and hand-cuffs having been discovered by him in the Settlements, the matter was reported to the Colonial Office at Paris, and the result of it was severe punishments, dismissals, retrogression and even imprisonments for half of the personnel in charge, including their director.

Only people without soul, without religion or sensitivity can face without repression this horrible fact of a physical violence used against a moral being, even against the most degraded of moral beings. For physical violence in itself debases a man far lower than the most degraded. It debases him exactly to the degree of an animal being—of a beast. For it is in the nature of the animal life to confuse in such a way principles and substances belonging to different worlds, for want of a high mind able to distinguish and separate them. In the animal the world of matter, brutal forces, physical violence is closely mixed and confused with the world, scarcely emerging of mind, reason and moral instinct. And until now the generality of mankind has not been able to differentiate, in this chaos of its own animal life, these two worlds. It is the bestial nature in men which still confuses them and allows the physical forces to be used against moral beings. Just as it is only the man deprived of his sanity, who can allow himself to try moral forces against material beings and to become angry as a child against the stone he hurt himself with by mischance. The stupidity of such use of moral force against material things is the exact equivalent of the bestial use of physical force against moral beings. But until now the mind of mankind has been still so obscure, so animal, so closed to the light of divine reason that only a few saints and sages have been able to overcome in themselves the beast and to dispel this confusion of substances; and their teaching of non-violence has been accepted by a few other men, not as an appeal to the highest and clear reason but to some kind of mystic instinct and of vague moral sentiment. The question now is to know if the majority of the educated and civilised people have become able to perceive this moral truth with a mental and unshakable clarity; if the governments of the so-called cultured nations are willing to enforce in them the true law of man or to continue to perpetuate and to serve this law of the brute. And when I read of what they are doing in their jails, I become doubtful about it. If they will not become human, we will have only one course to take and that is to appeal, in every peoples, to those who want to be real men and to ask them to sever in every way their solidarity with the others. We will have to preach and to start in the whole world a general and radical non-co-operation by those who aspire to be divine men, with those who will not cease to remain mere animal men. We will have to organise everywhere, or at least somewhere, a superior race, starting a new and superior kind of civilisation and if needed, this race will defend itself with new and efficient moral forces against the lower part of mankind just as the first family of man had to defend itself against the wild animality. I speak of efficient moral forces, for until now their only power has been that of sacrifice. But I believe in the new possibility of triumphant love after the crucified love and of a divine compulsion, ruling and governing this world and into it the kingdom of heaven.

#### Business Notice

Mofussil Agents and others, who have occasion to make frequent remittances to this office, are requested to note that no cheques except on the Bank of India, Ltd., and the Bank of Baroda Ltd., will be accepted in future.

Manager,

YOUNG INDIA,

AHMEDABAD.

## Mr. Winston Churchill's Banquet Speech

By C. F. Andrews

It is necessary to explain very carefully the significance of Mr. Winston Churchill's recent speech on East Africa.

In October 1921, when I reached Mombasa, a secret document was immediately put into my hands, which I was allowed with the Governor's permission to study. This document had been sent out by Mr. Winston Churchill for consideration by both Indian and European leaders. It was to be then sent back to London for revision. As its terms have now been disclosed in the public Press, it is permissible to quote from it, and I shall do so when necessary.

It was obvious to us all from the very first perusal of this document, that the terms were quite impossible as they stood. The most serious thing of all was clause 6, about the Highlands. It reads as follows:—

"(i) The Highlands to be reserved for Europeans as it is on the understanding, that this was the definite policy of His Majesty's Government, that Europeans have settled in Kenya and taken up land in the Highlands. The policy to be quite definite, i. e. neither grants of lands to Indians to be made nor transfers to be permitted.

"(ii) An area of land suitable for Indian settlement, roughly in the area lying between Voi and the Yatta plains, to be set aside for Indian ownership with exactly similar restrictions against European ownership."

This is the 'equality' proposed by Mr. Winston Churchill. The Highlands with the capital at Nairobi are to be handed over entirely to Europeans for all time to come, as far as agricultural areas are concerned, and Indians are to be compensated in a part of the country which is away from the capital, and an area which, up to the present, practically no one has found suitable, either for residence, or for cultivation.

The Indian claim has always been that no legal pledge was ever given at all, and that no verbal or administrative pledge was ever given in the past except with regard to original grants of crown lands in the Highlands, i. e. the first alienations. But Mr. Churchill has now declared that this administrative measure with regard to the first alienations affects also all future sales or transfers. In this secret document this point is made explicit, because it expressly states that transfers will not be permitted and that the Highlands are to be 'reserved for Europeans.'

From the very first in 1908, when Lord Elgin issued an order that grants of crown lands shall be given only to Europeans 'as an administrative convenience,' down to 1915, when an order in Council was passed (during the excitement of war time) empowering the Governor to veto sales of lands in the Highlands to Indians, the Government of India and the people of India have protested against this reservation of the Highlands for Europeans. It has never for a moment been left undisputed. On the contrary, the fact has been pointed out again and again, that the Colonial Secretary had also declared that Indians should be subject to no legal disability with respect to land purchase in East Africa, compared with other nationals.

Now Mr. Winston Churchill, in this East African banquet speech, has said openly and publicly to the whole world the same thing that he suggested in his strictly confidential document. He has repeated in public almost the very words of the secret document and has said 'This is final' 'There must be no transfer even to Indians'.

Indians have been barred out of the whole of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa as immigrants. It would appear that they will be also barred out of the Australian mandatory territory in New Guinea. There is a danger that they will be soon excluded from Rhodesia under the proposed new constitution, though that issue is by no means certain. There are ominous signs that Nyassaland may soon be compelled by the European Settlers' sentiments to close her doors to Indians. If after this the Highlands of Kenya are closed, then it will be the beginning of the end in East Africa also. For the Europeans in the Highlands will be certain to set the policy further and further in favour of Indian exclusion and prohibition. The Kenya Highlands will be the centre of the East African Federation which will include Uganda and Tanganyika. It will immediately affect their policy also.

How serious this further danger is may be seen from Mr. Winston Churchill's statements as to 'restricted Indian immigration'.

Here again, it is best to go to the words of the secret document itself for an explanation. It must be understood that the poorer class of Europeans is not wanted in East Africa by Europeans themselves because of the danger of intoxicating habits in the tropics and because it is desired that the European 'prestige' should be kept high. Therefore a money of security £37/10/- (which will soon be raised to £50/-) is demanded of each European. This is the price of a second class passage back to London. The Indian immigrant, whose journey from Bombay to Mombasa is a short one has to deposit Rs. 100/-

In the secret document Mr. Churchill proposed as follows:—

"Immigration regulations for Indians to be made the same as for Europeans: in addition to existing money deposit of £37/10/-, which way be increased (say) to £50/-, education test in written and spoken English may also be applied."

It is clear from his speech that Mr. Winston Churchill still keeps to this demand, because he himself spoke of restricted immigration according to Rhodes' standard of a 'civilized man', which standard would be a 'European' standard; and Lord Delamere said openly that he hoped it would lead to practical Indian prohibition; and this remark went unchallenged by Mr. Winston Churchill. Thus it appears almost certain that not only the Highlands are to be prohibited to Indians, but very soon the whole of East Africa will be prohibited also.

I have now tried to explain from the secret document the seriousness of Mr. Winston Churchill's speech. Two questions will at once be raised:—

(1) "If this position is finally taken up by the Colonial Office, then are Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading both prepared to resign?"

(11) "If this position is finally taken up, can Dr. Sapru, Mr. Sharma, and Mian Sir Mohammed Shafi as Indians remain on the Viceroy's Council?"

I have put these two issues with bluntness but there are occasions when bluntness is after all the kindest method to adopt.

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# Young India

16-2-22.

## The Crime of Chauri Chaura

By M. K. GANDHI

God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non-violent atmosphere which and which alone can justify mass disobedience which can be at all described as civil which means gentle, truthful, humble, knowing, willful yet loving, never criminal and hateful.

He warned me in 1919 when the Rowlatt Act agitation was started. Ahmedabad, Virangam, and Kheda erred; Amritsar and Kasur erred. I retraced my steps, called it a Himalayan miscalculation, humbled myself before God and man, and stopped not merely mass civil disobedience but even my own which I knew was intended to be civil and non-violent.

The next time it was through the events of Bombay that God gave a terrific warning. He made me eyewitness of the deeds of the Bombay mob on the 17th November. The mob acted in the interest of non-co-operation. I announced my intention to stop the mass civil disobedience which was to be immediately started in Bardoli. The humiliation was greater than in 1919. But it did me good. I am sure that the nation gained by the stopping. India stood for truth and non-violence by the suspension.

But the bitterest humiliation was still to come. Madras did give the warning, but I heeded it not. But God spoke clearly through Chauri Chaura. I understand that the constables who were so brutally hacked to death had given much provocation. They had even gone back upon the word just given by the Inspector that they would not be molested, but when the procession had passed the stragglers were interfered with and abused by the constables. The former cried out for help. The mob returned. The constables opened fire. The little ammunition they had was exhausted and they retired to the Thana for safety. The mob, my informant tells me, therefore set fire to the Thana. The self-imprisoned constables had to come out for dear life and as they did so, they were hacked to pieces and the mangled remains were thrown into the raging flames.

It is claimed that no non-co-operation volunteer had a hand in the brutality and that the mob had not only the immediate provocation but they had also general knowledge of the high-handed tyranny of the police in that district. No provocation can possibly justify the brutal murder of men who had been rendered defenceless and who had virtually thrown themselves on the mercy of the mob. And when India claims to be non-violent and hopes to mount the throne of Liberty through non-violent means, mob-violence even in answer to grave provocation is a bad augury. Suppose the 'non-violent' disobedience of Bardoli was permitted by God to succeed, the Government had abdicated in favour of the victors of Bardoli, who would control the unruly element that must be expected to perpetrate inhumanity upon due provocation? Non-violent attainment of self-government presupposes a non-violent control over the violent elements in the country. Non-violent non-co-operators can only succeed when they have succeeded in attaining control over the hooligans of India,

in other words, when the latter also have learnt patriotically or religiously to refrain from their violent activities, at least whilst the campaign of non-co-operation is going on. The tragedy at Chauri Chaura, therefore, roused me thoroughly.

'But what about your manifesto to the Viceroy and your rejoinder to his reply?' spoke the voice of Satan. It was the bitterest cup of humiliation to drink. 'Surely it is cowardly to withdraw the next day after pompous threats to the Government and promises to the people of Bardoli.' Thus Satan's invitation was to deny Truth and therefore Religion, to deny God Himself. I put my doubts and troubles before the Working Committee and other associates whom I found near me. They did not all agree with me at first. Some of them probably do not even now agree with me. But never has a man been blessed, perhaps, with colleagues and associates so considerate and forgiving as I have. They understood my difficulty and patiently followed my argument. The result is before the public in the shape of the resolutions of the Working Committee. The drastic reversal of practically the whole of the aggressive programme may be politically unsound and unwise, but there is no doubt that it is religiously sound, and I venture to assure the doubters that the country will have gained by my humiliation and confession of error.

The only virtue I want to claim is Truth and Non-violence. I lay no claim to superhuman powers. I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow beings wears and am therefore as liable to err as any. My services have many limitations, but God has upto now blessed them in spite of the imperfections.

For, confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before. I feel stronger for my confession. And the cause must prosper for the retracing. Never has man reached his destination by persistence in deviation from the straight path.

It has been urged that Chauri Chaura cannot affect Bardoli. There is danger, it is argued, only if Bardoli is weak enough to be swayed by Chauri Chaura and is betrayed into violence. I have no doubt whatsoever on that account. The people of Bardoli are in my opinion the most peaceful in India. But Bardoli is but a speck on the map of India. Its effort cannot succeed unless there is perfect co-operation from the other parts. Bardoli's disobedience will be civil only when the other parts of India remain non-violent. Just as the addition of a grain of arsenic to a pot of milk renders it unfit as food so will the civility of Bardoli prove unacceptable by the addition of the deadly poison from Chauri Chaura. The latter represents India as much as Bardoli.

Chauri Chaura is after all an aggravated symptom. I have never imagined that there has been no violence, mental or physical, in the places where repression is going on. Only I have believed, I still believe and the pages of *Young India* amply prove, that the repression is out of all proportion to the insignificant popular violence in the areas of repression. The determined holding of meetings in prohibited areas I do not call violence. The violence I am referring to is the throwing of brickbats or intimidation and coercion practised in stray cases. As a matter of fact in civil disobedience there should be no excitement. Civil disobedience is a preparation for mute suffering. Its effect is marvellous though unperceived and gentle. But I regarded certain amount of excitement as



inevitable, certain amount of unintended violence even pardonable, i. e. I did not consider civil disobedience impossible in somewhat imperfect conditions. Under perfect conditions disobedience when civil is hardly felt. But the present movement is admittedly a dangerous experiment under fairly adverse conditions.

The tragedy of Chauri Chaura is really the index finger. It shows the way India may easily go, if drastic precautions be not taken. If we are not to evolve violence out of non-violence, it is quite clear that we must hastily retrace our steps and re-establish an atmosphere of peace, re-arrange our programme and not think of starting mass civil disobedience until we are sure of peace being retained inspite of mass civil disobedience being started and inspite of Government provocation. We must be sure of unauthorised portions not starting mass civil disobedience.

As it is, the Congress organisation is still imperfect and its instructions are still perfunctorily carried out. We have not established Congress Committees in every one of the villages. Where we have, they are not perfectly amenable to our instructions. We have not probably more than one crore of members on the roll. We are in the middle of February, yet not many have paid the annual four annas subscription for the current year. Volunteers are indifferently enrolled. They do not conform to all the conditions of their pledge. They do not even wear hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar*. All the Hindu volunteers have not yet purged themselves of the sin of untouchability. All are not free from the taint of violence. Not by their imprisonment are we going to win Swaraj or serve the holy cause of the Khilafat or attain the ability to stop payment to faithless servants. Some of us err inspite of ourselves. But some others among us sin willfully. They join volunteer corps well knowing that they are not and do not intend to remain non-violent. We are thus untruthful even as we hold the Government to be untruthful. We dare not enter the kingdom of Liberty with mere lip homage to Truth and Non-violence.

Suspension of mass civil disobedience and subsidence of excitement are necessary for further progress, indeed indispensable to prevent further retrogression. I hope, therefore, that by suspension every Congress man or woman will not only not feel disappointed but he or she will feel relieved of the burden of unreality and of national sin.

Let the opponent glory in our humiliation or so called defeat. It is better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of denial of our oath and sin against God. It is million times better to *appear* untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves.

And so, for me the suspension of mass civil disobedience and other minor activities that were calculated to keep up excitement is not enough penance for my having been the instrument, however involuntary, of the brutal violence by the people at Chauri Chaura.

I must undergo personal cleansing. I must become a fitter instrument able to register the slightest variation in the moral atmosphere about me. My prayers must have much deeper truth and humility about them than they evidence. And for me there is nothing so helpful and cleansing as a fast accompanied by the necessary mental co-operation.

I know that the mental attitude is everything. Just as a prayer may be merely a mechanical intonation as of a bird, so may a fast be a mere mechanical torture of the flesh. Such mechanical contrivances are valueless for the purpose intended. Again, just as a mechanical chant may result in the

modulation of voice, a mechanical fast may result in purifying the body. Neither will touch the soul within.

But a fast undertaken for fuller self-expression, for attainment of the spirit's supremacy over the flesh, is a most powerful factor in one's evolution. After deep consideration, therefore, I am imposing on myself a five days' continuous fast permitting myself water. It commenced on Sunday evening it ends on Friday evening. This is the least I must do.

I have taken into consideration the All-India Congress Committee meeting in front of me. I have in mind the anxious pain even the five days' fast will cause many friends; but I can no longer postpone the penance nor lessen it.

I urge co-workers not to copy my example. The motive in their case will be lacking. They are not the originators of civil disobedience. I am in the unhappy position of a surgeon proved skillless to deal with an admittedly dangerous case. I must either abdicate or acquire greater skill. Whilst the personal penance is not only necessary but obligatory on me, the exemplary self-restraint prescribed by the Working Committee is surely sufficient penance for every one else. It is no small penance and if sincerely carried out, it can become infinitely more real and better than fasting. What can be richer and more fruitful than a greater fulfilment of the vow of non-violence in thought, word, and deed or the spread of that spirit? It will be more than food for me during the week to observe that comrades are all silently and without idle discussion, engaged in fulfilling the constructive programme sketched by the Working Committee. In enlisting Congress members after making sure that they understand the Congress creed of truth and non-violence for the attainment of Swaraj, in daily and religiously spinning for a fixed time, in introducing the wheel of prosperity and freedom in every home, in visiting 'untouchable' homes and finding out their wants, in inducing national schools to receive 'untouchable' children, in organising social service specially designed to find a common platform for every variety of man and woman, and in visiting the homes which the drink curse is desolating, in establishing real *Panchayats* and in organising national schools on a proper footing. The workers will be better engaged in these activities than in fasting. I hope, therefore, that no one will join me in fasting, either through false sympathy or an ignorant conception of the spiritual value of fasting.

All fasting and all penance must as far as possible be secret. But my fasting is both a penance and a punishment, and a punishment has to be public. It is penance for me and punishment for those whom I try to serve, for whom I love to live and would equally love to die. They have unintentionally sinned against the laws of the Congress though they were sympathisers if not actually connected with it. Probably they hacked the constables—their countrymen and fellow beings—with my name on their lips. The only way love punishes is by suffering. I cannot even wish them to be arrested. But I would let them know that I would suffer for their breach of the Congress creed. I would advise those who feel guilty and repentant to hand themselves voluntarily to the Government for punishment and make a clean confession. I hope that the workers in the Gorakhpur district will leave no stone unturned to find out the evil-doers and urge them to deliver themselves into custody. But whether the murderers accept my advice or not, I would like them to know that they have seriously interfered with Swaraj operations, that in being the cause of the postponement of the movement in Bardoli, they

have injured the very cause they probably intended to serve. I would like them to know, too, that this movement is not a cloak or a preparation for violence. I would, at any rate, suffer every humiliation, every torture, absolute ostracism and death itself to prevent the movement from becoming violent or a precursor of violence. I make my penance public also because I am now denying myself the opportunity of sharing their lot with the prisoners. The immediate issue has again shifted, we can no longer press for the withdrawal of notifications or discharge of prisoners. They and we must suffer for the crime of Chauri Chaura. The incident proves, whether we wish it or no, the unity of life. All, including even the administrators, must suffer. Chauri Chaura must stiffen the Government, must still further corrupt the police, and the reprisals that will follow must further demoralise the people. The suspension and the penance will take us back to the position we occupied before the tragedy. By strict discipline and purification we regain the moral confidence required for demanding the withdrawal of notifications and the discharge of prisoners.

If we learn the full lesson of the tragedy, we can turn the curse into a blessing. By becoming truthful and non-violent, both in spirit and deed, and by making the swadeshi i. e. the *khaddar* programme complete, we can establish full Swaraj and redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs without a single person having to offer civil disobedience.

### In Cold Blood

In its communique in reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy, the Government of India says that it has not adopted "vindictive severity" in its dealings with non-co-operators and that "there is no shadow of justification for the charge that their policy has been one of indiscriminate and lawless repression." But these words seem to have been used by the Government without any intention of conveying the meaning which they plainly bear. For, if "there is no shadow of justification for the charge that lawless repression has been resorted to," the Government does not peremptorily say 'no', when in his rejoinder to the communique Mr. Gandhi cites specific instances where both "vindictive severity" and "lawless repression" have been adopted, but tries to shirk the issue by saying that all those matters really lay within the jurisdiction of provincial Governments to deal with, as Sir William Vincent has done in his reply to Dr. Gaur's question in the Legislative Assembly. If that is so, how does the Government of India truthfully say that "there is no shadow of justification for the charge that their policy has been one of indiscriminate and lawless repression" or that "vindictive severity" has not been adopted by it?

Sir William Vincent further advised the members of the Assembly not "to place too much reliance on vague statements of this kind" and justified the use of force in dispersing meetings called together in defiance of Government prohibition and declined to give any undertaking that midnight searches and arrests will not be made. One is naturally tempted to ask what are really the "vague statements" in the instances cited by Mr. Gandhi in his rejoinder. Are charges like the official shooting at Entally, the brutality of the Civil Guards as has come to light from the evidence before the Government's own Committee of Enquiry, the assault on volunteers in Lahore, Dehra Dun, Dacca, Jullunder, Amritsar, Bulandshahr etc., looting of villages in Behar and, at least in one instance, of a Congress office, "vague statements?" If the Government

really considers them to be so, it proves nothing but its own wooden character and the hopeless unreality of the atmosphere in which it lives and moves.

Among the definite charges advanced above, the Government has so far made statements about two, viz., the looting incidents in Behar. The looting of villages it has admitted without reservation. But as regards the looting of the Congress office at Sonapur, its statement does not absolutely negative the fact although it has the show of a denial. For it says:—"The Magistrate at once directed the Superintendent of Police to disperse the procession using such force as might be necessary. The latter accompanied by some police and armed only with sticks carried out this order. No force was used and no one was injured. Some flags and pamphlets were burnt on the public road. The District Magistrate, quite rightly in the opinion of the local Government, took proper precautions to see that no disrespect was shown to the Prince of Wales while passing through his district." So the Superintendent of Police dispersed a procession and burnt flags and pamphlets on the public road. But at what place did he do that? The statement is silent on that matter. Did the processionists come out with pamphlets in their hands? The statement does not say that either. But both these points are cleared up by the evidence of Mr. B. Lawrence given before the Congress Enquiry Committee held to investigate the matter. He says:—"I live adjacent to the Sonapur Congress Office. I was present on 21st December at my house. At about 3 o'clock, I saw that the volunteers were going westward from the Congress Office. Soon after I saw them coming back without flags. After a short time a European along with 50 or 60 men without uniform came to the Congress Office and some of them went inside it. I came out on the road from my house and saw that some papers were burning in front of the Congress Office." To this, the Congress Secretary adds in his statement that along with flags and pamphlets, *khaddar* pieces, national calendars, pictures, badges, *khadi* caps and religious books such as the *Ramayana* and the *Gita* were also burnt and that Rs. 180-received by him for distribution among the flood-affected people and also as contribution to the National School, have been taken away by the police.

These are certainly not vague charges. Nor is the charge of brutal assault on the volunteers at Jullunder by the police under the guidance and leadership of Col. Buck, the D. C. of the place, as described in the last issue of *Young India*, a vague one. The charge has since been more than confirmed by a resolution of the Municipal Committee of Jullunder and corroborated by another resolution passed by a meeting of the Indian Christians of the town, both of which condemn the action of the Government in very strong terms. The resolution of the Municipal Committee runs as follows:—

"The Municipal Committee Jullunder enters a strong protest against the action taken by the authorities on the occasion of the auction of liquor licenses, in that they without reason humiliated, assaulted and thrashed even peaceful individuals unconnected with any political party and thus created a state of affairs, calculated to cause widespread discontent and immense resentment among all classes of people, and that the Government be earnestly moved to appoint a mixed Commission of officials and non-officials to make a thorough enquiry into the recent happenings and to ease the present tension."

The meeting of the Indian Christians of Jullunder passed the following resolutions on the subject:—



"Without entering into any legal aspect of the case and without committing ourselves to the views of any political party or even the authorities, but believing in justice, mercy and righteousness as followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Indian Christians of Jullunder City under the Presidency of Revd. Ralls Ram, Pastor, Indian Presbyterian Church, Jullunder City, having assembled together, unanimously resolve:

1. That we have heard from reliable sources and some of us have seen number of the people of Jullunder being most mercilessly beaten on 26th and 27th January by the police and by officers outside the Court compound, where they were behaving peacefully and had gone thither to beg of the bidders at the Liquor Contract Sale to desist from doing so. We condemn such treatment accorded to peaceful subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor as inhuman and un-Christian.

2. That we show our sympathy with the Temperance Movement.

3. That we show our sympathy with the unfortunate men who had been beaten and with Raizada Lala Hans Raj who has been arrested, as we understand, in this connection."

After this confirmation of the Jullunder incident, we shall describe this week some other specific instances of repression in Assam, Orissa, Bengal and U.P. In Assam the authorities seem to have changed their tactics, and instead of taking action against transgression of notifications and prohibitory orders, they have begun to harass the people in the mofussil. Boke, to which we referred in a previous summary, occupies the first place in the list. It is about 50 miles away from Gauhati and is a Congress centre of 4 Mauzas (revenue collection units) in each of which there is a local Congress Committee with a batch of volunteers attached to it. The population would be approximately 60,000 consisting of all castes including hill tribes. The percentage of literates will not be more than one in a hundred. Twenty miles further north from Boke, there is another Mauza named Paschim Chamaria which on account of its remoteness was throughout neglected by the authorities, but now on account of the wonderful response it has given to the Congress movement they have felt called upon to direct their attention to it. As early as October last all the Gaonbaras (village headmen) of the Mauza, most of the Mandals (village Amins), and by December the Mouzadars (revenue collectors) and all local forest guards resigned or took leave. They stopped "begar" in spite of the threats of the forest officer. All this was in the eyes of the authorities very grave offences and we find on 11th January a contingent of 50 Gurkhas headed by Mr. Pawsey, the Assistant Commissioner, who is acting, it is believed, both as a Magistrate and a leader of the police force, posted there as punitive police. The people refused to pay the penal tax. We describe below some of the methods adopted by Mr. Pawsey to realise the same. On 26th January he went to a village named Pijupara, got hold of the very first man he met, tied his hands backward because he considered the poor man's property insufficient to meet his quota. Then he proceeded to attach all the belongings of the villagers, in the course of which either Mr. Pawsey himself or the Darogah threw a bell-metal cup at an old man which cut his leg, because the poor man had the audacity of demanding the return of the cup on the ground that the things taken were more than the value of the tax payable. He then arrested 8 men from Pijupara, 12 men from Nagarbara, and 5 more from two neighbouring villages, making a total of 25 arrests. Of these

a young man named Atul, who had merely gone to see the condition of his fellow-brothers in the police camp, was kicked and beaten so severely that he had to be carried home with the assistance of some fellow-villagers. The rest of the arrested persons were kept sitting in the sun the whole day and at night they were exposed to biting chill in an open space without food and without clothes and hourly treated with kicks and blows on the slightest pretext. Three of them Gajendra Pandit, Achyut Pandit and Kameswar Das were so severely assaulted by the Gurkhas and the Khansama of the Assistant Commissioner that they are reported to be unable to move out of their beds even now. The Assistant Commissioner succeeded, after this brutal and inhuman treatment, to make the people agree to pay. A sum of Rs 1500 belonging to the Mangaldai Congress and Khilafat Committees, has been confiscated by the police although it was deposited with a local shopkeeper who acted as banker for the Committees. At Gauhati a sum of Rs 50 collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund was similarly taken away from a volunteer and confiscated.

Whatever may be in Assam, one would naturally expect that poor Orissa would be spared this orgy of repression as being quite unworthy of the steel of the mighty bureaucratic foeman. But no, the wheels of the Government like the wheels of that fabulous Car of Jagannath grinds down whatever may happen to cross its ways. Over and above the orthodox and prevalent methods of arrest, assault, etc., the Orissan authorities, perhaps to show their adherence to the cause of intemperance, caused wine to be sprinkled over the populace and tried otherwise to degrade them in the eyes of society. All this happened on the occasion of the holding of a public meeting at Khurda under the presidency of Pandit Gopabandhu Das. As soon as the meeting was announced, the police proclaimed, by beat of drum throughout the neighbouring villages, that attendance to it was prohibited by Government and that the breach of this order would result in arrest and imprisonment. Mr. Guise, the S. P. of the district, issued an order under Act 5 of 1861 specially addressed to Pandit Gopabandhu Das and S. N. C. Chaupatnaik and other members of the local Congress Committee, prohibiting the notified meeting on public places, roads, thoroughfares and streets of the Khurda town. The local Congress Committee, therefore, selected a place for the meeting outside the municipal area of the town. This frustrated the first move of the police, who nothing daunted, again proclaimed by beat of drum that the meeting was prohibited. Constables, Chowkidars, Mehetars were placed on all roads leading to the meeting place, not to allow people to assemble there. The Mehetar men, women and children were drunk and had wine-bottles in their hands and drums on their shoulders. They were quite disorderly. The constables assaulted the people on the road and in the field-paths. The Mehetars sprinkled wine on gentlemen and on some occasions, hung the drums to their necks evidently with a view to outcaste them. But in spite of these obstructions many people managed to congregate. As soon as the proceedings commenced the constables pushed and dragged the people and separated them into groups. When Babu N. C. Chaupatnaik began to address the audience he was forcibly dragged out of the enclosure and marched to the Thana. Four other successive speakers were treated in the same manner. They were released after an hour's confinement. Of them, S. J. Patnaik was severely slapped and S. J. Lingaraj Mahapatra, an ordinary country confectioner, was taken into a separate room in the Thana where he was assaulted.

## The Dawn of the New Age

### Part II

He was right but he spoke of that which was not yet understood by mankind as a whole, and it was for this reason that the Dawn which he saw on the horizon by the enlightenment of his own idealism has tarried for a century. But now there is in every part of the world an atmosphere so clear that the long delayed Dawn can be seen by all, because for the first time in the history of man the ideals which Mazzini preached are being understood not by a few select souls only but by all men. During the War, although it had as its cause the greeds and fears of the nations of the West, there sprang up a new language of Humanity which was used by all the peoples of the world. It was used even by the statesmen whose policies had produced the war, for they found, after the first enthusiasm of patriotism had abated, that the vocabulary of freedom was useful for keeping up the enthusiasm of their countrymen.

They used it constantly, reiterating the phrases of liberty and fraternity until they sank deep into the consciousness of the nations. It was President Wilson who used the idioms of this new language with the greatest effect during the latter stages of this war, and those who saw how he was received by the people of England and France when he came to Europe, can understand how deeply the minds of men and women had been influenced by his idealism. In Germany itself just before the Armistice, I am told by one who was interned in Berlin during the war, the enthusiasm for the ideals of President Wilson's was intense and his name was looked upon with devotion by all the liberal and progressive minds of Germany. It is useless for the statesmen, now that their need for misleading the people is over, to drop that phraseology and to adopt the same insane policies which swept the world into the orbit of their own disastrous and destructive follies.

Now "when danger decamps  
They bury the world with the deed."

Under the tense and strenuous emotions of war time, the minds of men were peculiarly susceptible to the influences of ideas and ideals, and they cannot now be suddenly persuaded that after all hatred and greed are best. Now they can never be turned back and led again to destruction under the impulse of mere catchwords. This time the watchword of Freedom will truly make them free, and however strenuously the statesmen struggle to lead them again in the old paths, they will refuse to be led, but will in their turn become the leaders.

This was very clearly seen during the recent visits of Rabindranath Tagore to the various countries of the Continent of Europe. Wherever he went, the forces of idealism rallied round him and nothing was more striking than the way the students in every University centre looked eagerly to him for inspiration and leadership. There is not the shadow of a doubt that the Youth of the World are ready for a new revelation and are now expecting a New Era. The fact that there is much that is discouraging in the present state of Europe should not rob us of our hope. A reaction was to be expected after the exhaustion of the Great War. As Aurobindo Ghose writes in one of his recent books:—

"The forces of the old world, the forces of despotism, the forces of traditional privilege and selfish exploitation, the forces of unfraternal strife and passionate self-regarding competition are always struggling to re-assert themselves on

the thrones of the earth. A determined movement of reaction is evident in many parts of the world and nowhere perhaps more than in England which was once one of the self-styled champions of progress and liberty. The attempt to go back to the old spirit is one of those necessary returns without which it cannot be so utterly exhausted as to be blotted out from the evolution. It rises only to be defeated and crushed again. On the other hand, the force of the democratic tendency is not a force which has had the greater part of its enjoyment but one which is still vigorous, unsatisfied and eager for fulfilment. Every attempt to coerce it in the past reacted eventually on the coercing force and brought back the democratic spirit fierce, hungry and unsatisfied, joining to its fair motto of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" the terrible addition of "Death". It is not likely that the immediate future of the democratic tendency will satisfy the utmost dreams of the lover of liberty who seeks an anarchist freedom, or of the lover of equality who tries to establish a socialistic dead level or of the fraternity who dreams of a world-embracing communism. But some harmonisation of this great ideal is undoubtedly the immediate future of the human race. On the old forces of despotism, inequality and unbridled competition, after they have been once more overthrown, a process of gradual *sanyama* will be performed by which what has to remain of them will be regarded as the disappearing vestiges of a dead reality and without any further violent coercion be transformed slowly and steadily out of existence."

But one aspect of this idealistic movement amongst the more thoughtful youth of Europe is arresting to those of us who have the future welfare of India at heart. It is this. Almost invariably these young men and women with a great vision and a high hope are looking towards India for their inspiration. The true welfare of India can only be realised in its fulness when India has realised her mission to the world. "Ex orientelux" is not only the motto of an old English University but is also the hope of the new generation in the West. From the East must come the Dawn. This should carry to every Indian a feeling of heavy and urgent responsibility, and should make those who are fighting in India for freedom realise that more important than the actual gaining of liberty is the use that India will make of her freedom when she has won it. More urgent than any change in the form of government, more imperative than a political victory, is the question of whether India will be true to her *Dharma* and thus take her rightful position of leadership amongst the nations of the world. To quote once more the words of Aurobindo Ghose:—

"Our aim will therefore be to help in building up India for the sake of humanity—this is the spirit of the Nationalism which we profess and follow. We say to humanity "The time has come when you must take the great step and rise out of a material existence into the higher, deeper and wider life towards which humanity moves. The problems which have troubled mankind can only be solved by conquering the kingdom within, not by harnessing the forces of Nature to the service of comfort and luxury, but by mastering the forces of the intellect and the spirit, by vindicating the freedom of man within as well as without and by conquering from within external Nature. For that work the resurgence of Asia is necessary, therefore Asia rises. For that work the freedom and greatness of India is essential, therefore she claims her destined freedom and greatness, and it is to the interest of all humanity, not excluding England, that she should wholly establish her claim!"

India is undergoing this renaissance and the Youth of the world will owe to India a debt of gratitude if Young India is true to the highest ideals of the Motherland. Benjamin Kidd in his last book "The Science of Power" points out that the clue to the future civilisation is to be found in the fact that "Power in the highest form of integration will win". Where in every country can this highest form of integration be found? The answer of Benjamin Kidd is that the centre of Power in the coming order of civilisation will be Woman. This is a fact that is now becoming clearer day by day, for in every part of the world, not excluding India, woman is attaining an influence over the practical developments of modern life greater than she has ever had before. Already she has used that power for beneficial ends, and in Europe as a result of the devastating effect of the War on the manhood of the nations, the education of the young is coming more and more into the hands of the women. Women are by nature more idealistic than men and show a much more truly altruistic attitude towards the problems of human life. But there is a still further factor in the present state of the world that cannot be overlooked, and that is that in spite of attempts on the part of those in power to re-establish the old selfish aims of a narrow and arrogant patriotism, the youth of humanity refuses to take for granted all that the "elder statesmen" tell them. The headmaster of a well-known public school in England recently stated in public: "Boys of this generation are far more in earnest than the boys of my youth. They are thinking of the great questions which confront the nation to-day, and I would rather take the judgment of my sixth form than the judgment of the House of Commons. That is not saying much, it is true, but they are at least in earnest and bent upon getting to the bottom of things. Despite all criticism the public schools of to-day are out not to make scholars but to make citizens, and if the nation tampers in any way with the spirit they nurture, it will do so at its own peril."

Youth is idealistic by temperament and to youth therefore we can appeal when idealists are needed. Benjamin Kidd, in speaking of "emotion of the ideal" which he regards as the supreme factor in the shaping of the new civilisation, says: "The first remarkable feature of the emotion of the ideal is that it is an attitude of mind which is most highly developed in the child." The truth of this statement is found wherever we find children. They respond almost instantaneously to a great ideal. One day I read to a group of children from the poorest homes in the slums of London, the story, as told by Sister Nivedita, of Gautama Buddha. I watched the growing wonder and reverence on their faces as they listened to the story of the Great Renunciation. They were hushed and still, and at the end one of them asked me with awe in her voice: "Is he still alive?"

It is this characteristic of the young all the world over which is the greatest assurance of the ultimate unity of the human race. Now, as never before, the race of mankind is ready and responsive to the great message that 'All men are brothers'. No statesman can now stop now from accepting the ideals of universal brotherhood and love if only those who believe in those ideals concentrate on the young. We can leave the politicians to weave their own shrouds while the young are quietly and unobtrusively building the foundations of the New World.

Signs are already showing that the foundations have been begun. In July 1921 there took place in London an

International meeting of Boy Scouts. Representatives of 27 different countries were present, including countries so far apart as China and Chili. For the first time in history Boys met together from all over the world, as members of one great family for the cultivation of that mutual sympathy and understanding without which no League of Nations can be truly founded. These boys do not possess the worldly wisdom of the politicians of the countries they came to represent, but they possess what is of infinitely greater value, namely the idealism of Youth upon which can be established the New World Order.

To readers, then, of *Young India* there should come this message of hope and inspiration. "Blessed are the Young for of such is the Kingdom of the Future. The New Age is at hand, because it is in the hands of the Young."

Shantiniketan,

Colpur.

January, 1922.

W. W. Pearson.

### Working Committee's Resolutions

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th instant and passed the following resolutions:—

(1) The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned the Police Thana and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

(2) In view of Nature's repeated warnings, every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent some popular violent outburst has taken place indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instructs the local Congress Committees forthwith to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government and whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

(3) The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras respectively on 17th Nov. 1921 and 18th January last.

(4) In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee advises, till further instruction, all Congress organisations to stop activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save normal Congress activities including voluntary *hartals* where an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured and for that end all picketing shall be stopped save for the *bona fide* and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor shops against the evils of drinking, such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good character and specially selected by the Congress Committees concerned.

(5) The Working Committee advises, till further instructions, the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notifications regarding such meetings. This, however, shall not interfere with the private meetings of the Congress and other Committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.